A

REPLY

To the Gentleman who has publiſhed a Pamphlet, entitled "Arguments for and againſt an Union."

IN WHICH

Mr. M'Kenna's Memoire is taken into Conſideration.

By ISAAC BURKE BETHEL, Eſq.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

Nos patriâ amiſsâ dominis parere ſuperbis
Cogemur.

VIRG.

DUBLIN:

Printed by W. GILBERT, 26, South Great George's-Street.

1799.

A REPLY, &c.

IN all ſubjects that are to be ſpoken to, or written upon, the difficulty lies in the manner that ſubject is to be entered upon, how the merits of it are to be diſcuſſed and brought to an argumentative concluſion.

In giving my thoughts on a ſubject that is of ſuch magnitudinal import to the honor and intereſts of my native land, I ſhall moſt cautiouſly avoid coming into perſonal contact with any of thoſe Gentlemen who have gone before me, leſt in the notice that I ſhould beſtow on the writer, I ſhould be betrayed into an obſervance of the individual.

Having read with profound attention a Pamphlet, intitled "Arguments for and againſt an Union," I own that the impreſſion made on my mind by thoſe argu-

ments has not been of that weight, as to diſable me from ſhewing myſelf ſuperior to that weakneſs which momentarily ſuffered it.—" If," ſays the Pamphleteer, " this queſtion is to be decided by paſſion, or by force, there is no miſchief which the agitation of the queſtion may not produce; if it is to be determined on its merits, it cannot fail to be uſeful. In one caſe the rejection or adoption of it would terminate in diſcontent or convulſion; in the other, the reſult of conviction would produce ſatisfaction."—I moſt implicitly agree with the learned Politician, that if there is any thing like paſſion or force uſed or attempted to be uſed, either in the propoſal or the accompliſhment of ſuch a meaſure, as that of an Union between this Country and Great Britain, that it will terminate in diſcontent or convulſion.

Now for the merits, which, he ſays, muſt be examined with philoſophic temper, he propoſes, as a means to make us happy as a people, (preſuppoſing us very unhappy) living as we do, ſingly and independent,

dependent, that we ſhould unite ourſelves with a happy and proſperous Nation, and thereby participate in its happineſs and proſperity—moſt certainly, if this were an Iſland filled with Savages and Barbarians, having no idea of Agriculture, of Commerce, of Law, Phyſic or Divinity, it would be condeſcending and humane in the proud and the poliſhed Briton to wiſh us to *unite* with him, in order that our morals and manners might be faſhioned to his own, in order that we might be taught that obedience to the law, that honeſty in dealing, that decency, and that obſervance of the Chriſtian religion, which make England at once the envy and admiration of the world. But until I can be brought to think that my Countrymen are in ſuch a want of cultivation, I muſt reſiſt with indignation, I will not ſay *force*, the kind condeſcenſion of the accompliſhed Engliſhman.

Whatever condition this kingdom, (ſtanding as ſhe is, naturally independent of any other) was in, previous to the year

1782,

1782, however ſhe might have been dictated to by Britiſh emiſſaries, whoſe political friendſhip for this Country made it always ſubſervient to their own, however the commerce of this Country was reſtricted, and her conſtitution unacknowledged and kept down; yet the idea of putting poor Ireland on a footing with England, by bringing her Parliament and its Members acroſs the channel, never entered the brain of any of thoſe emiſſaries.

It is ſtrange, that notwithſtanding the high commercial advantages we obtained in that ever memorable year, and which have continued to us—notwithſtanding we have ſhewed ourſelves competent to decide for ourſelves, in every thing that has relation with Church and State,—it is ſtrange indeed, that after a period of ſixteen years univerſally progreſſive improvement, a meaſure ſhould now be attempted ſo ſubverſive of common order, common ſenſe, and common compact.

The author in ſupport of his reaſons in favor of his propoſed meaſure has in my mind

mind moſt unhappily mentioned two or three caſes which he preſumes to be in point, but which I moſt humbly preſume to be the contrary; when the Seven United Provinces, being *cruelly* oppreſſed by the Spaniſh government, ſeparated from that government, in order to eſcape from tyranny, &c. and when the Sabines found they could not maintain themſelves any longer againſt the Romans, they then united themſelves, after they could not maintain themſelves, and you ſay they acted according to the principles of reaſon and good ſenſe in ſubmitting to the Roman yoke, *i. e.* becauſe they could not maintain themſelves! ſo that becauſe they could not maintain themſelves againſt Rome, Rome maintained herſelf againſt them in the plunder of her liberties and in the raviſhment of their wives and daughters; ergo, if we cannot maintain ourſelves againſt the monſter that is now in embryo, he will riſe up and cruſh us to the earth.

I moſt ſincerely thank you, Sir, for what you call this reaſoning againſt all declamation

mation upon the common topics of "*national dignity* and *national pride*." I do not know a more effectual way of ſilencing declamation than the hint you ſo good naturedly throw out—let a man if a meaſure is propoſed to him that degrade him, his family and his country, let him cry out againſt that meaſure in the voice of thunder—ſtrangle him and you will ſoon put an end to his declamation.

If any perſon ſhould aſk you why you done ſo? ſay that your ear was not fitted to hear Iriſh muſic, and that you acted upon the authority of ROMAN EXAMPLE and ROMAN GREATNESS.

If any one ſhould aſk you if you were aware of the murder that you had committed, and the events which followed it, in order to complete the deed, namely, the rapine, the maſſacre, the *carnage in every ſenſe of the word* by the "*brave and orderly ſoldiery*,"—tell them that the Sabines met with the ſame fate for their impudence and obſtinacy.

England, ſay you, was formerly divided

into

into ſeven kingdoms, and by that diviſion the iſland was a general ſcene of confuſion; but a ſagacious Prince brought them together and they then eat of the ſame regimen, they aſſociated under one code of government and one ſovereignty, and became happy—In the name of common ſenſe how does this apply to the queſtion that you ſaid ſhould be debated with philoſophy—a few petty provinces within the realm, and bounded by the ſame ſea, hold out in a kind of petty rebellion, diſtinct in their laws and manners, againſt the King of England, and were deſervedly puniſhed for their treaſon.

I ſuſpect, Sir, that you were driven to thoſe caſes, in order to cover the dark and ambiguous expreſſion you make uſe of in your firſt page, namely, that of bringing about your favorite meaſure *by force*; what a fatal day for Ireland and alſo for England! —" How is a Welſhman, ſay you, degraded by being repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament. How ridiculous! a Welchman who can on foot walk and inſtruct his re-

 preſentative.

preſentative. How can a Scot be enſlaved by becoming a Briton—I anſwer, he is in the ſame kingdom with a Briton. It is the ſurveyor of the land who divides him by conſtruction and by rule; the Scot alſo can on foot put his wooden pipe and tobacco in his pocket, and ſee his repreſentative in a couple of days.—The caſe is not ſo with an Iriſhman; he ſeldom travels from his country but to ſerve his King, and when he does, that it is from *voluntary impulſe*, and not *mean ſubmiſſion*.

That "Naval greatneſs," which my political adverſary ſays is "unrivalled," owes much of that greatneſs to the unpurchaſed valour of Iriſhmen.—But that moment that an Iriſhman is told that his Parliament is gone, that his landlord reſides in another kingdom, for the purpoſe of repreſenting him, that he muſt, in order to inſtruct him in any meaſure which would be beneficial to his country, endure the expence and the danger of a ſea voyage, that moment he withdraws himſelf from ſo extravagant an idea, he withdraws him-

ſelf

ſelf from that confidence which he repoſes in his repreſentative, and would conceive that he was bound to alienate himſelf from his allegiance.—" Ireland will be gradually riſing to the level of England;" that is, if there is an Union. As well might the learned gentleman tell me that a ſervant is on a level with his maſter, if he is on the ſame floor with him.

As to the paragraph where he ſays, that a man by being introduced to good company will hob nob with more elegance, this is ſo puerile, ſo nonſenſical, and ſo dancing-maſter like, that as an Iriſhman I cannot ſtoop to notice it.—" Suppoſing there were no other reaſons which rendered the Union of the ſiſter kingdom deſireable, the ſtate of Europe, and eſpecially of France, ſeem to dictate its peculiar policy at the preſent day." Here again the author ſuppoſes we are made to be dupes to Engliſh artifice, and to Engliſh policy; for he ſays, that France has incorporated a great addition of territory, but has rendered abſolutely dependent on her will

almoſt

almoſt all the ſmaller ſtates that ſurround her—and by what means has ſhe done that, indeed ſhe did not write a Pamphlet on the ſubject, ſo far ſhe acted up to the treachery of her character, but there is ſtill an inapplication—thoſe ſmaller ſtates that ſhe had ſubdued and plundered were in hoſtility to her;—are we in hoſtility with England? Good God is it becauſe that a few ambitious young men, placed themſelves at the head of a ridiculous mob in the interior parts of Ireland, that the genius, the ſpirit, and the loyalty of Dublin are to be ſacrificed;—that genius, and that ſpirit, and that loyalty which put down rebellion, and reſiſted the contagious enemy, and beat him from our ſhore, are they to be addreſſed thus by Britons.—"Iriſhmen, for the laſt 12 months we have been much troubled with your internal diviſions, you have correſponded with our powerful enemy France, you have ſhewed her how ſhe might invade you and detach you from us, and you have done every thing that threatens the overthrow

of

of our Monarchy, we therefore think proper to curb your licentiouſneſs, we will take your Parliament, which was the hot-bed of treaſon againſt our mild and merciful King, from you; whatever there was virtuous among you we will take from you, and you ſhall become a country of labourers and manufacturers; you ſhall give corn to our cattle, and cattle to our navy." If this be the language you hold out to us, I do not know in what tongue to reply to it, but I would ſay, that the ſpirited Parliament, which was, during the little ſcene of confuſion, protected by a Spirited Yeomanry, deſerved a better treatment; I would ſay that the Gentlemen of the Iriſh Bar, who embodied themſelves in arms by permiſſion of Lord Camden, and the government of this country, to protect Lord Camden and his government from foreign and domeſtic enemies, to protect his caſtle and his perſon from being ſeized upon, have now received a miſerable boon for their ſervices.

In

In no inſtance was the maxim of "example is more forcible than precept" exemplified than in the numerous bodies of men who followed the Lawyers corps in their ſpirited endeavours to cruſh rebellion and treaſon in whatſoever ſhape they might make their appearance; and after this rebellion is put down, after the enemy is led captive to his priſon, or to the place of execution, after we have gained a complete victory both by land and by ſea, after we have ſheathed our ſword and unfixed our bayonet, is that the period for an Engliſh gentleman to draw his pen acroſs the independence of Ireland, and make her a blank in the map of Europe.

I will paſs over all the other paſſages in his Pamphlet, they have been ably anſwered by ſome of my brethren in the profeſſion, particularly Meſſrs. Ball and Jebb; the one has ſhewed him the high honor and ſpirit of an Iriſhman; the other the cool and diſcriminating diſcernment of commercial inquiry. The one has taken him to pieces; the other lifts him up to

public

public view, and expoſes all his broken parts. And here I moſt candidly aſſure my Countrymen, that were it not a regard I had to my own promiſe, which I am now ſorry for, and which I am willing to admit was made at a time to put a ſtop to good-natured ſolicitation, I ſhould not have felt it neceſſary to trouble them or myſelf upon a ſubject that I fear they have read too much of.

I cannot diſmiſs theſe few lines without beſtowing ſome obſervations on another Gentleman, who appears an advocate for the unhappy meaſure, and who tells you that it would be highly pleaſing to many, to erect an independent government on every ten ſquare miles of Europe; and this he ſays as ſeriouſly as if he believed one word of the matter.——"We might rehearſe," ſays he, "the advantages which the Inhabitants were to derive from ſuch *organization.*" I am concerned that ſuch an expreſſion eſcaped him—it has a republican ſound; but I do moſt confidently deny that any body of men in this coun-

try,

try, that had respectability attached to them, ever entertained a wish to have an independent government every ten miles near them, or in their vicinage, as long as they conceived they were inhabitants of an independent Island, possessing a FREE CONSTITUTION, and an UNSHACKLED COMMERCE.—I am free to acknowledge that if it were the case, we would be incapable of *vigorous enterprize*, or *effectual combination for resistance*; we would then fall beneath the sword of a powerful adversary.—If the inhabitants of Killala, Castlebar, &c. were little independent States, they would have fallen beneath General Humbert and his followers; but being connected with us, we gave them our aid, and made prisoners of the invaders.

"Ireland will derive importance, when by the share in the general representation which she is intitled to obtain, she will be enabled to influence, *in some respect*, the Councils *of the Empire*."—I do believe that her influence would be but in *some respect*; but with great respect to Mr. Mc. Kenna, (for he is an avowed author) I totally

tally differ from him in *every respect*.—At present we have an House of Lords and an House of Commons, the members of both amount in number to about five hundred. The Gentleman who is prolocutor of the Lords is an Irishman. The speaker of the Commons is also an Irishman. If a member of either House is affected by a particular or a general grievance, he submits his ideas and the whole subject undergoes discussion, which terminates in his redress, either for himself or his constituent. If the constituent is affected by a particular law, he can immediately wait on his representative, who will be bound by his duty to have that law repealed. If the representative sees any mode by which liberty and property can be better secured to the Irish nation, he is bound to propose it, and that in a place where he can be heard by the president or speaker, with attention and respect; but for my part I cannot foresee what attention my lord Loughborough* or Mr. Addington† will pay to Irish ora-

* Lord Chancellor. † Speaker.

tory, or what influence an Iriſh member would have in the councils of the empire upon any topic that interfered with the dignity and the aggrandizement of a Britiſh Parliament. An Iriſh gentleman, who was the honor and the idol of the Iriſh Parliament, I mean Mr. Henry Flood, concluded a very able and eloquent ſpeech, amidſt the yawns and coughs of an Engliſh ſenate.

I am well aware of the rooted prejudices, I had almoſt ſaid hatred, that lodges in the breaſt of ſome Engliſhmen towards Iriſhmen; of the inſolent and the impudent authority they aſſume, in all matters that relate to ſtate policy, and to court intrigue. Doctor Swift might well obſerve, that the man who was of figure and conſequence in this country, a voyage to the HEAD and a *journey to St. James!* ſoon reduced him to abſolute inſignificance.— The mention of ſuch a man as Swift, ſtarts a train of melancholy ideas in my mind, as are not eaſily to be repreſſed; would to

God

God we had ſuch a man to write upon ſuch a ſubject!

But to return, I know of no power or influence that we can have over the councils of the Empire, ſuperior to that which we have through the medium of our own Parliament, until Mr. Mc. K. ſhews me, by mathematical calculation, that one is more than five—he never can perſuade me that a few delegated Peers, from the lords of Ireland, and a few returned Commoners to the Parliament of Great Britain, can ever have, in *ſome reſpect*, or any reſpect, influence on the councils of the Empire. "But people," ſays Mr. Mc. K. "talks of the national debt of Britain," and then he like a *lawyer* contends "that though we are not legally, we are at this hour effectively pledged to ſupport with our reſources the credit of Great Britain." And pray Mr. Mc. K. who has denied but that we ſhould ſupport Great Britain in her credit; who will deny but we have proportioned to our means, ſupported her in all emergencies: But give me leave to

aſk Mr. Mc. K. if the meaſure is to be carried which he ſo *chearfully embraces*, namely that of *Legiſlative Union*, how will Ireland then be able to contribute to the payment of the national debt. SADDLED as *ſhe will be with that debt, and ſtript at the ſame time of her* PROPERTY!

It has been mentioned by ſome of my coadjutors, that the Delegates, Peers and Commons, will reſide near the miniſter; that they will receive from this country 500,000l. per Annum. that they will ſeldom viſit their demeſnes and their manſions; that their agents here will, in the abſence of their maſter, domineer over the unfortunate tenant, and drive him to diſtreſs, to misfortune, to deſpair and to madneſs; all this I believe will happen. But I will go further and aſſert, that there is not a gentleman of 500l. per ann. will live in this country; there is not a gentleman who has 500l. per ann. who is not intimately connected with the leading men of this country, and conſequent-

ly

ly would feel it his intereſt and advantage to follow the fortunes of thoſe men whenever it was their will and pleaſure to abandon us. "Perhaps," ſays Mr. Mc. K. "inquiſitive reſearch is at this very moment employed in exploring, or in opening the markets, by the ſupply of which this momentous operation is to be effected." I cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible that any mercantile ſpeculator would be ſo loſt to his own intereſt as to produce any article of manufacture for ſale at a market, unleſs that he was ſure of a bidder; much leſs can I be brought to ſuppoſe, that any man is employed in opening a market, on the preſumed ruin of his country. I have not a doubt but if Mr. Mc. K's. meaſure is accompliſhed, without a ſtruggle made by the pen of Iriſh genius to ſhew its injuſtice and its impolicy to thoſe who would propoſe it, that Waterford and a few other towns in Ireland might receive ſome commercial advantage. Whilſt I am candid in thus treating the ſubject, I ſhould have been glad Mr. Mc. K. had

pointed

pointed out what diſadvantages thoſe towns have laboured under, where they were inferior to Dublin in point of credit or in reſpect to manufactures, here with all his claſſical ingenuity, I do believe he would have failed.—There is one ſhort queſtion I would aſk Mr. M'K. are we not in poſſeſſion of all the commercial advantages that England could grant us by an Union? If I am anſwered in the affirmative, why ſhould we ſend 500,000l. per ann. to England? why ſhould we ſend the wealth and the conſequence out of this country? why ſhould that noble building in College-green be turned into a coach-houſe and ſtable for ſome military general and his officers? why ſhould the proprietors of the reſpectable ſquares in the city of Dublin be literally robbed of the induſtry of themſelves, of their families, and their anceſtry? until thoſe queſtions are anſwered to my entire ſatisfaction, I muſt pronounce that man an ideot who thinks he can propoſe ſuch a meaſure with ſafety.

Mr.

Mr. M'K. has in the remaining part of his pamphlet introduced himſelf ſo ſtrongly to a ſeat in the Britiſh legiſlature, that I do not feel it neceſſary to ſpeak for a reply to all that he has advanced upon the ſide of catholic claims; for it cannot be ſuppoſed poſſible that he would talk of catholic emancipation, and in the ſame breath the extinction of Parliament in this country.—The Iriſh catholic cannot ſuffer himſelf to be duped by ſuch pretended advocacy.

A party in this country calling themſelves Orangemen have been dealt with ſeverely by M. M'K. I am not of that party, but whatever I have learned of their principles I am led to think that they are a ſpirited and well-diſpoſed ſet of men, who aſſociated for the purpoſe of counteracting the deſigns of a *party* who intended the overthrow of our "*King, Lords and Commons.*" I care not whether the party who protects my caſtle from attack, and my property from plunder, get drunk with power or with wine: I care not whether they drink the health of KING WILLIAM

or

or my UNCLE TOBY; they have anſwered a wiſe and beneficial purpoſe, and for that reaſon they deſerve my gratitude and my thanks. Mr. M'K. ſhould be delicate or ſilent when he ſpeaks of a party; he ſhould recollect the Pamphlet he wrote ſome few years back, where he ſays he is not ſo ſqueamiſh or ſo faſtidious as not to own himſelf of a party, he avows himſelf the literary champion of the Whig Club and the panegyriſt of their leaders, and their widely extended principles; this is the party that Mr. M'K. ſhould have employed his pen to expoſe their wickedneſs and their folly, as he was beſt acquainted with both. I am not inſinuating any thing like blame to Mr. M'K. for *deſerting* that party, he might have entered into it with the beſt views, that of giving a political oppoſition to an able, or as he was pleaſed to ſay, *at that time*, a profligate miniſter; but I blame him for throwing any thing like cenſure upon a loyal body of men, who united themſelves for the purpoſe of cruſhing treaſon and rebellion.

On

On this very queſtion of an Union, ſays Mr. M'K. there muſt be ten thouſand different opinions; and then he ſays, it would be unwiſe to reconcile them.—I am ſorry he thinks ſo; if I am ſure he thought it wiſe or prudent to make converts of them, he would have attempted it. But I ſtrongly ſuſpect that upon the ſubject of an Union in this country there are but two opinions. —It is Waterford verſus Dublin, Cork againſt ſame, Belfaſt againſt ſame. It is the *Builder* and the *Dairyman* that are at iſſue. It is Merrion-ſquare and the Bog of Allen that are in controverſy. It is the penſioned ſlave and the proud freeman that are in combat. And is Mr. M'K. to pay no attention to the opinion formed and the reſolutions entered into by that high and reſpectable body of men the Iriſh bar; is he to pay no attention to the names of a Saurin, a Spencer, a Barrington, a Duquery, a Buſhe, a Powel, and a Plunket; men who ſpurned the paltry honors that were offered to them, when they were told that they were the purchaſe

of the rights and the liberties of their country; men who feel that they have but a life eſtate in thoſe immunities, which were left them by their fathers, and which in honor and in conſcience they are bound pioufly to tranſmit unimpaired to their children.

With Mr. M'K. I have done, he is a gentleman whom I knew early in private life, and for whom I entertained ſentiments of regard and reſpect. It is his political creed that I diſapprove of, and condemn. It is his forgetfulneſs of the benefits he received from an Iriſh Parliament, who removed the diſability he labored under in his civil and political capacity. It is of that kind of forgetfulneſs I would complain. It is the oblivifence of his country, of her rights, of her liberties, of her independence, of *himſelf*; it is that want of memory that makes a man appear at once odious and ungrateful. To his reflections I commit him.

I fear that I have not kept up to my promiſe as I have gone on. I felt it was impoſſible.

poſſible. God help us, we promiſe more, much more than we are able to perform; to be cool on ſuch a ſubject I believe will be the lot only of thoſe men who wiſh plauſibly to diſpoſe of my country, thoſe who write for that country and wiſh to preſerve her name among the nations of the earth, write from their feelings, and from their hearts.

I find my countrymen that I have been anticipated in many of the obſervations that it was originally my intention to have made on this great queſtion of an Union, twenty gentlemen have entered the liſts, they have from facts ſtubborn, and arguments invincible, demonſtrated the cruelty, the impolicy, and the danger of agitating this queſtion in the enſuing Parliament; they have demonſtrated the folly and abſurdity in the court champions ſuppoſing for a moment they could cajole Iriſhmen into a compariſon with the Scotch nation, who after it had puſilanimouſly conſented to the ſurrender and to the ſale of their Parliament upon treaty, that treaty ſcandalouſly and

ſhamefully

ſhamefully violated in the IMPOSITION OF A TAX which *their Peerage and their Commoners unanimouſly reſiſted*, but reſiſted in vain ! ! ! and therefore as I have been ſaved much trouble you are relieved.

I ſhall conclude with adjuring the Britiſh miniſter to pauſe before he will entirely conſent to or rather dictate a meaſure fraught with ſuch deſtruction to a country that has ſo uniformly ſupported him in all his financiering adjuſtments. I do adjure and beſeech the great men who have been and are now in England receiving inſtructions, how they are to act upon this great, this perilous occaſion, to ponder with a caution becoming the importance and the ſagacity of their characters, and proportioned to to the magnitude of the work before them, how they will pledge themſelves to the ſupport of a ſyſtem that muſt degrade them and their poſterity for ever, that they will ſee the ſatisfying of a few individuals in the paltry gratification of title is no compenſation to the unborn ſons of thoſe

individuals

individuals who if the title will deſcend (which, conſidering the manner it is conferred, and the tenure by which it will be held, I have my doubts) IT WILL BE WORN NOT AS THE INSIGNIA OF HEREDITARY HONOR, BUT THE BADGE OF INTAILED SLAVERY.

In this appeal to their better and their nobler feelings, I am not actuated by any ſelfiſh motives. For my King and my Country, my pen, like my ſword, has been ſolicitous and ready in defence of both. MY REWARD HAS BEEN MY OWN. My labours for the laſt four years in the way of my profeſſion, have been directed for the public good. Sometimes, and too often, have I ventured myſelf for an unhappy fellow creature, who was teazed and oppreſſed by a cruel and rapacious creditor; ſometimes with ſucceſs, but oftener ſucceeded in making myſelf a number of enemies, and enemies of thoſe who were formerly my friends:—However, upon a ſubject like the preſent, I truſt that they will forget, or rather permit their

animoſities

animoſities to give way to more generous conſiderations, and that they will unite with me and their able brethren in the profeſſion, to advize the leading members of both countries not to attempt a meaſure, the accompliſhing of which muſt fix an indelible ſtain on the liberties, the laws and the conſtitution of this realm.

I ſhall take my leave, nearly in the words of Sir Wm. Blackſtone. 'THE PROTECTION OF THE LIBERTY OF IRELAND IS A DUTY WHICH WE OWE TO OURSELVES WHO ENJOY IT, TO OUR ANCESTORS WHO TRANSMITTED IT DOWN, AND TO OUR POSTERITY WHO WILL CLAIM IT AT OUR HANDS; THIS, THE BEST BIRTHRIGHT AND NOBLEST INHERITANCE OF MANKIND!

ISAAC BURKE BETHEL,

ARRAN QUAY.